DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 125 253 FL 007 480

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TITLE Ethnic Relations and Bilingual Education: Accounting for Contradictory Data. Working Papers on Bilingualism, No. 6.
INSTITUTION Ontario Inst. for Studies in Education, Toronto. Bilingual Education Project.
PUB DATE May 75
NOTE 45p.; For related documents, see FL 007 481-484
AVAILABLE FROM Bilingual Education Project, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor St. West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1V6 (as long as supply lasts)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingual Education; *Bilingualism; Bilingual Schools; Cultural Interrelationships; *Data Analysis; Educational Research; *Ethnic Relations; *Ethnology; Language Attitudes; Language Instruction; Language Programs; Language Research; Second Language Learning; Social Integration; Social Systems; Sociocultural Patterns

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the contradictory data of research studies on bilingual education from the viewpoint that such data will make sense only if we consider bilingual education as the result of societal factors rather than as the cause of certain behaviors in children. Schermerhorn's theoretical framework for research on ethnic relations (with the independent variables of sequences of interaction, degree of enclosure, and degree of control) is utilized in an attempt to account for the various results of bilingual education programs. Wallace's scheme of revitalization movements is also briefly touched upon. (Author)

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ETHNIC RELATIONS AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION:

ACCOUNTING FOR CONTRADICTORY DATA

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FL007480

Paper presented at the
Interamerican Conference on Bilingual Education
American Anthropological Association
Mexico City, D.F.
November 22, 1974

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people helped me to identify materials and sources, and I would like to express my gratitude to: James Alatis, John C. Bordie, Lilyan Brudner, Marina Burt, John B. Carroll, Andrew Cohen, D. G. Ellson, Laura C. Fernandez, Joshua Fishman, Melvin J. Fox, A. Bruce Gaarder, Fred Genesee, Judith T. Guskin, Magdalena Jaakkola, Bo Janson, Richard Light, William F. Mackey, John MacNamara, Gerhard Nickel, Henry Pascual, R. G. Paulston, Alfonso Ramirez, Margie Saenz, John Schumann, Bernard Spolsky, Rudolph C. Troike, G. Richard Tucker, and Albert Verdoodt. Special thanks for their patience and generosity go to Mats Thelander for his help with the Swedish and Finnish sources and to Merrill Swain for her help with the Canadian sources; without their cooperation the paper could not have been written and I gratefully acknowledge their contribution.

Merrill Swain also read the MS and made some valuable comments. Whatever infelicities remain are my own responsibility.

INTRODUCTION

Rudolph C. Troike has asked me for this conference to -- and I quote from his letter -- "review some of the hard data on bilingual education and discuss some of the questions raised thereby regarding the efficacy of bilingual education (particularized to different models if possible)."[1]

I should make clear from the outset my particular bias when it comes to "hard data." I consider as hard data any systematic and sustained observation within a coherent theoretical framework. I am impressed with the technical degree of sophistication of much psychometric research but find many of the findings inadequate in scope to deal with the questions and problems of bilingual education. It is simply not so that we can only understand what we can measure, and I doubt that we will ever be able to reduce the most important issues in bilingual education to quantifiable terms. My bias then is primarily that of a social anthropologist like Pelto's:

> I put strong emphasis on quantification and statistics, but I feel strongly that many of the more qualitative aspects of anthropological working styles are essential to effective research.[2]

and it is within such a framework that I will attempt to interpret the research findings on bilingual education.

I have restricted the following discussion to bilingualism only as it occurs within an educational setting and have thus excluded the large body of literature on language acquisition as it occurs in a natural setting.[3]

And, finally, it goes without saying that twenty minutes is totally inadequate to consider carefully all the issues in research on bilingual education. In limiting this paper, I have chosen 1) to bring together some data on bilingual education on which there is a) consensus and b) disagreement, 2) to summarize some theoretical frameworks for interpreting the data 3) in order to try to account for the apparent contradictory findings. In the extended version of the paper, I attempt a more exaustive review of the research.

The major view point from which this paper is written is that we can begin to understand the problems and questions of bilingual education only when we see bilingual education as the result of certain societal factors rather than as the cause of certain behaviors in children. Virtually all the research on bilingual education, as we shall see, treats the bilingual education programs as the independent or causal variable, as the factor which accounts for certain subsequent results. A case in point is the vast number of studies[4] which attempt to assess students' reading achievements by standardized test scores where the independent variable, or the "treatment" as it is occasionally referred to, is the language (mother tongue or L_2) used as medium of instruction. I know of no experimental study on reading achievement which looks at language medium of instruction as an intervening or dependent variable, i.e. as a variable which is either a factor modifying the effects of the independent variable or which is the result of certain conditions. Verdoodt's article "The Differential Impact of Immigrant French Speakers: A Case Study in Light of Two Theories"[5] is an example of the kind of research I have in mind, an attempt to explain variation of phenomena in language maintenance and shift within a consistent theoretical framework, but he only mentions education in a few passing remarks.

One of the difficulties with research which looks at the bilingual pro-

gram or school as the independent variable, like the Canadian immersion programs and Mackey's J. F. Kennedy school in Berlin, is that such studies carry in and by themselves virtually no generalizability to other programs as Mackey is careful to point out himself and as others do also.[6]

Such case studies, however, are necessary, if we are to begin to develop a theory of bilingual education which will enable us to generalize the evidence from the individual studies and to account for their often contradictory findings. It is my contention that we can best do so within a framework of comparative ethnic relations and revitalization theory. Without question, there are other theoretorical approaches possible,[7] but it is very clear to me that unless we try in some way to account for the socio-historical, cultural, and economical-political factors which lead to certain forms of bilingual education, we will never understand the consequences of that education. In other words, we need research which looks at bilingual education as the intervening or dependent variable, and we don't have it.

Before we look at the actual research, I would like to cite some crucial distinctions which Gaarder makes about bilingualism. He distinguishes between elitist bilingualism and folk bilingualism. Elitist bilingualism, he points out, is the hallmark of intellectuals and the learned in most societies, and, one might add, of upper class membership in many societies such as in continental Europe. It is a matter of choice. Not so folk bilingualism which is the result of ethnic groups in contact and competition within a single state, where "one of the peoples became bilingual involuntarily in order to survive."[8]

As I have pointed out in an earlier paper, the research findings are quite clear on one point.[9] Upper and middle class children do perfectly well whether they are schooled in the mother tongue or in the L_2 although

we don't really know why. Elitist bilingual education has never been an educational problem and for the purposes of this paper I shall primarily concern myself with bilingual education as a result of ethnic groups in contact and competition, as a result of folk bilingualism.

There are only three basic types of bilingual education: 1) Immersion programs where all schooling is in the L_2 with the possible exception of a component in mother tongue skills. The L_2 is typically an official language although exceptions exist with immersion programs in a language of wider communication other than the official language (all elitist bilingual education programs are also of this latter type). 2) Programs taught in the mother tongue with an SL component, i.e. the target language is taught as a subject. In such programs, the target language is usually an official language or a language of wider communication (or both). 3) Programs in which two languages are used as the medium of instruction. A number of various models exist. The majority of this type of bilingual education that I am familiar with involve the use of an official language and a minority language.[10]

The extended version of the paper deals with research on all three types of bilingual education, but for reasons of space, the present paper primarily examines the issues raised in situations where children study in a language other than their mother tongue, the situation in which the issues I want to discuss are most clearly delineated.

BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

"Immersion" or "home-school language switch" programs are the terms by which the Canadian programs have become known, in which all beginning instruction is given in French to Anglophone students, in which the school language is different from the home language.[11] Actually this is a very common form of schooling in many parts of the world, and one which has given rise to world wide debate of the issues involved. Patricia Engle[12] and I[13] have in two separate papers outlined and discussed some of these issues before, and I will therefore barely touch upon them here. Reduced to the basic issues, the argument concerns 1) the choice of medium of instruction, whether in the mother tongue or the L_2, and consequent achievement of language skills, especially in initial reading, 2) the achievement of subject matter knowledge in fields like math, science, etc. in the mother tongue compared to in the L_2, and 3) the concern about possible deleterious cognitive effects of following a curriculum in a second language. Engle after reviewing twenty-five studies could only report that "none has as yet conclusively answered the questions posed in the initial paragraph (i.e. the first two issues above)."[14] Rather than to review all the inconclusive results once more, I would like to cite three studies of immersion programs from our North American continent in an attempt to account for the discrepancy of the findings. They are the Chiapas,[15] the Saint Lambert,[16] the Culver City[17] studies. You are all probably familiar with them so I'll just outline them briefly.

In the Chiapas, Mexico study, Modiano found that Indian children who had received initial reading in the vernacular and then in Spanish scored higher on tests of reading comprehension after three years than those who had only been taught in Spanish. There are other studies which support her findings.[18]

The St. Lambert findings, however, clearly contradict them. The St. Lambert program is the prototype of the recent Canadian immersion programs where

Anglophone children enter programs where they are initially only taught in French with components taught in the later grades in the mother tongue. In the St. Lambert study the children were taught exclusively in French in kindergarten and first grade with the addition in second grade of a period in English Language skills. By the end of the second grade the students were reading equally well as the English Controls and were also able to read in French, and they maintained this achievement through the other grades. Further, the success of the Canadian immersion programs can be measured not only by the battery of standardized tests with which they are being carefully assessed but also by their proliferation and popularity. Swain and Barik report that "currently some 40% of English speaking children in the Montreal area enter French immersion kindergarten classes."[19]

The Culver City, California program, is a carefully evaluated replication of the St. Lambert experiment. English speaking children are taught only in Spanish from kindergarten on with a later component of English language skills; according to Lebach it is the only Spanish immersion program in public education in the United States.[20] The assessment findings are similar to those of St. Lambert; at the end of grade two, there are no signs of retardation in English language skills, oral or reading. In Spanish reading, they did not do as well as a comparison group in Quito, Ecuador but as well as their native Spanish speaking classmates, and compared to native Spanish speaking students in California taking the Prueba de Lectura Nivel 1 they were at the 90th percentile in the total reading score. In mathematics they scored higher than the English comparison group.

There is, however, one aspect of the program which differs from the Canadian immersion programs. Although all immediately involved in the program, students, parents and teachers, expressed satisfaction with it, "a major controversy broke out whether the Spanish-only kindergarten program could continue."[21] Cohen reports:

> At a Culver City board meeting, a parent in the Culver City community publicly read a section of the Education Code of the State of California (Section 71), which requires that the basic language of instruction in all schools in the State be English, and that only after a child becomes fluent in a foreign language can he be instructed in that language. ...Willing to test the matter in court, if necessary, the Culver City school board voted to initiate a second Immersion kindergarten class. At its January 1972 meeting the California State Board of Education unanimously approved the Culver City decision to establish a new Spanish-only kindergarten class.[22]

There has been no similar controversy involved with the Canadian programs; on the contrary, the Canadian programs have been initiated by parents' concern and continued support.

At this point I would like to pose two questions. Why is it that we have no conclusive answer to such a seemingly simple question as, in Engle's phrasing, "will a child learn to read more rapidly in his second language if he is first taught to read in his primary language?"[23] The answer, I think, is clear. It is true that differences in research designs of the various studies will have influenced the findings, but even so there ought to be some discernable trends, as there are not. It is simply that medium of instruction in school programs is an intervening variable rather than the causal variable as it is always treated in all these studies on reading achievement by children from ethnic groups and languages in contact. By merely examining intervening variables, with no (or little) attempt to identify independant variables, one cannot hope to achieve any similarity and consensus in the research findings, as indeed we don't have.

The next question is obvious. How can we account for the contradictory consequences of similar programs in Mexico, Canada, and California? In my earlier paper, I pointed out that

> social class of the students was the one overruling factor. In every single study where monolingual children did as well as or better in L_2 instruction than did native speakers, those children came from upper or middle class homes.[24]

Although I have not really seen any evidence to convince me otherwise, the trouble with that statement is that it does not explain very much. True, it indicates another causal variable for school achievement of children but it has limited explanatory power. It does, if not explain, at least provide an alternative interpretation of the different research findings of the Chiapas lower class children and the St. Lambert and Culver City middle class children. But it does not account for the "raging" (Cohen's term)[25] controversy of the Culver City program. It is likely that social class membership is itself an intervening variable, and that we must, as Lambert said at the discussion at the AAAS/CONASYT symposium,[26] "tease apart" that concept.

It is with that purpose I turn to Schermerhorn's "inductive typology" as he has outlined it in Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research.[27]

The problems we are concerned with here, the consequences of bilingual education, are the direct result of ethnic groups in contact. Says Schermerhorn, "The probability is overwhelming that when two groups with different cultural histories establish contacts that are regular rather than occasional or intermittent, one of the two groups will typically assume dominance over the other,"[28] and he says elsewhere it is the nature of this dominance which is the major factor in ethnic relations.[29] The central question then in comparative research in ethnic relations (exactly what we are attempting to do at a low level) is "What are the conditions that foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into their environing societies?"[30] (Language maintenance and language shift are concomittant conditions of the degree of integration.) He goes on to say that

> the task of intergroup research is to account for the modes of integration (and conflict) as dependent variables in the relations between dominant groups and subordinate ethnic groups in different societies.[31]

Schermerhorn offers a skeleton outline of the central issues in such research:

> We begin with the proposition that when the territory of a contemporary nation-state is occupied by peoples of diverse cultures and origins, the integration of such plural groups into each environing society will be a composite function of three independent and three intervening variables. The independent variables posited here are: 1) repeatable sequences of interaction between subordinate ethnics and dominant groups, such as annexation, migration, and colonization; 2) the degree of enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation) of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and associations; and 3) the degree of control exercised by dominant groups over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a given society.
>
> The intervening or contextual variables that modify the effects of independent variables are: 1) agreement or disagreement between dominant and subordinate groups on collective goals for the latter, such as assimilation, pluralism; 2) membership of a society under scrutiny in a class or category of societies sharing overall common cultural and structural features, such as Near-East societies, Sub-Saharan African societies; 3) membership of a society under scrutiny in a more limited category of societies distinguished by forms of institutional dominance, i.e. polity dominating economy or vice versa.[32]

Let us know look at our three studies in light of this theoretical framework. In French speaking Canada, the ethnic groups came into contact through voluntary migration, the sub-type of intergroup sequences which involves the least coercive control. In Canada, the English later took over by force, and this presumably is reflected in the degree of enclosure. By degree of enclosure, Schermerhorn refers to a

> Social or structural pluralism which varies from maximum to minimal forms which can be conceptualized as degrees of enclosure with indicators like endogamy, ... institutional duplication, ...[33]

In other words, the more the two groups share social institutions like the same churches, the same schools, the same jobs, the less the degree of enclosure within that society. The persistent maintenance of two languages within one province is indicative of the existence of a structural pluralism in Quebec, of institutional differences which separate the ethnic groups in terms of social participation. This structural pluralism is also one of the causes

of the immersion programs because it is the lack of contact between English and French speaking peer groups which have necessitated them. One need only look at a multilingual city like Tangier to see how effortlessly children become bi/trilingual in contact situations.

Schermerhorn's third independent variable, the degree of control by the dominant group, raises some of the most interesting issues of the Canadian immersion programs.

Widespread individual bilingualism of two official languages leads typically to the disappearance of one of the languages or to a diglossic situation, and as Gaarder points out, balanced folk bilingualism simply is not a feasible situation.[34] It is typically the subordinate group which becomes bilingual with resultant language shift over two or three generations. This has been the situation until now in French speaking Canada, where there has been a steady shift to English which is the dominant language of business and industry. Until recently the size of the French speaking population has remained steady in spite of the number of French speakers who shifted to English -- a function of structural pluralism, i.e. different religious institutions with different ideologies, here the Roman Catholic opposition to birth control -- but at present birth rates are declining.[35]

In societies when ethnic groups -- who have sufficient power to enforce it -- want to maintain their language in a situation of rapid language shift toward another language, they typically take measures to protect their language by legal measures. This is what happened in Belgium where bilingual education was outlawed,[36] and it is what is happening in Canada. In 1967 French and English were declared to be official languages of Canada.[37] At present there are pressure groups which are urging the Quebec provincial government not only to preserve but to strengthen the position of the French language. As Swain summarizes:

1) The French-Canadians are making serious attempts to maintain their native language and culture. For the present, this appears to imply a concomitant move towards French unilingualism.

2) The English-Canadians, threatened neither by native language loss nor by cultural assimilation, and gradually accepting possible economic and educational advantages to the learning of French, are manifesting an increased interest in acquiring bilingual skills.[38]

In other words, we have the unusual situation where the economically dominant group is becoming bilingual, thereto motivated by economic concerns for the future brought about by legal measures and pressures by the other group in political power.

Now let us look at the intervening variables. In order to deal with the agreement or disagreement between dominant and subordinate groups on collective goals for the latter, such as assimilation or pluralism, Schermerhorn sets up a paradigm of which one purpose is to "specify the social contexts that can serve as intervening variables in answer to the scientific query, 'under what conditions?'"[39] Schermerhorn bases his discussion on Wirth's typology of the different policies adopted by minority groups in response to their clearly unprivileged position.

> These policies he called assimilationist, pluralist, secessionist, and militant. Briefly, assimilationist policy seeks to merge the minority members into the wider society by abandoning their own cultural distinctiveness and adopting their superordinates' values and style of life. The pluralist strategy solicits tolerance from the dominant group that will allow the subordinates to retain much of their cultural distinctiveness. The secessionist minority aims to separate or detach itself from the superordinates so as to pursue an independant existance. Finally, the militants ... intend to gain control over the dominants who currently have the ascendency.[40]

Schermerhorn points out that assimilation and pluralism really refer to cultural aspects while secession and militancy refer to structural.

> To clarify this problem it is well to insist on the analytic distinction between culture and social structure. Culture signifies the ways of action learned

> through socialization, based on norms and values that serve as guides or standards for that behaviour. Social structure, on the other hand, refers to "the set of crystallized social relationships which its (the society's) members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government, and recreation."[41]

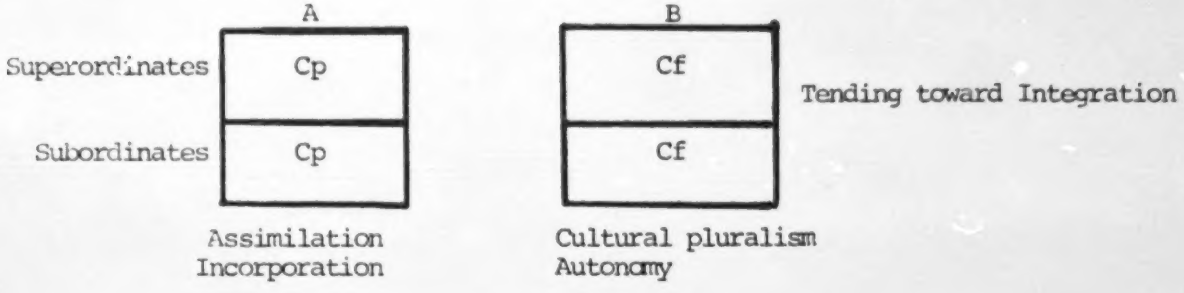
In order to deal with the difficulty of applying cultural features to conditions which involve social features, he suggests the paired concepts of centripetal and centrifugal trends in social life. "Centripetal tendencies refer both to cultural trends such as acceptance of common values, styles of life, etc., as well as structural features like increased participation in a common set of groups, associations, and institutions."[42] To keep the two aspects distinct, he calls the first assimilation, the latter incorporation. Much has been written about bilingual education and assimilation, and I think it would very much clarify our own thinking if we were careful to distinguish between assimilation and incorporation. Many subordinate groups in the United States do not want to abandon their cultural distinctiveness; rather what they want is access to goods and services, to the institutional privileges held by the English speaking middle class, i.e., economic incorporation rather than assimilation. (The legislative measures taken in regards to French can also be seen as a way of regulating language use as a means of access to institutional privileges and promptly recognized as such by the English speaking parents.)

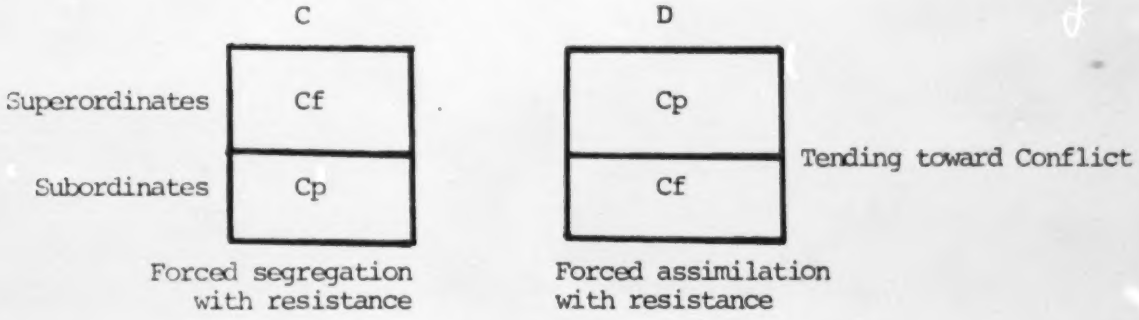
"Centrifugal tendencies among subordinate groups are those that foster separation from the dominant group or from societal bonds in one respect or another. Culturally this most frequently means retention and preservation of the group's distinctive traditions in spheres like language, religion, recreation, etc., together with the particularistic values associated with

them: Wirth's cultural pluralism. But in order to protect these values, structural requirements are needed, so there are demands for endogamy, separate associations, and even at times a restricted range of occupations."[43]

Schermerhorn's major point is that integration, which involves the satisfaction of the ethnic groups modal tendency, whether it be centripetal or centrifugal, depends on the agreement or congruence of views by the dominant and subordinate groups on the goals of the latter:

Congruent and Incongruent Orientations Toward Centripetal and Centrifugal Trends of Subordinates as Viewed by Themselves and Superordinates.





Cp = Centripetal trends
Cf = Centrifugal trends [44]

If we restrict our discussion about the Canadian immersion programs to the province of Quebec, it seems that the relationship between the two ethnic groups is best symbolized by Cell B. (Although, as I mentioned before, there is no clear sub/superordinate status between the two groups, the English speaking Canadians are dominant in the economic sphere while the government "is solidly in the hands of the French.")[45] The French speaking population

want sufficient autonomy and separateness to preserve their own language and customs, like their counterpart in Switzerland who Schermerhorn cites as an example.[46] The English speaking Canadians, who have actually little choice in the matter, are content to tolerate the cultural and structural pluralism of the French. "Since both sides agree on a limited separation (live and let live - a centrifugal tendency) this represents another form of integration -- looser and at least partly disengaged."[47]

And finally, the two ethnic groups belong to the same multinational sector, that of Western Europe. Schermerhorn postulates that policies and practices toward ethnic groups will "have more comparable outcomes in any given sector than other sectors."[48] One might add that sharing similarities of structural institutions, the major basis of the classification, there might be less potential conflict between the two groups.

One might conclude then that the basic trend between the two ethnic groups in Canada is toward integration in Schermerhorn's sense of the term, and on such basis we could postulate the success of bilingual education programs for either group, as long as such programs remain a matter of choice.[49] And social class, it seems to me, might not be an issue as I can see no factor within the situation which serves to identify social class per se as a variable.

I have digressed at such length in order to introduce a theoretical framework within which we might interpret our contradictory findings. Let us now briefly look at the relationship of ethnic groups in Culver City.

In California the two ethnic groups, English speaking Americans and Spanish speaking Americans of Mexican origin, came into contact by annexation, an inter-group sequence which modally results in the condition symbolized by cell D in the chart on page 13. It is characterized by a situation in which the dominant group see the goals of the subordinate group as one of assimila-

tion while the subordinate group shows strong centrifugal trends, in other words a situation which tends toward conflict.

Schermerhorn points out that we do not have a very clear idea of the degree of enclosure of plural societies which are the result of annexation. In plural societies, "institutions of kinship, religion, the economy, education, recreation and the like are parallel but different in structure and norms. Ordinarily this is compounded by differences in language and sometimes by race as well."[50] We may not know the exact degree of enclosure but certainly the condition exists in the United States' Southwest. Schermerhorn adds: "Since language has been the most salient distinguishing mark of the plural constituents, this has given cultural features the most prominent place instead of structural characteristics."[51] If I interpret him correctly, we have tended to understand the relationship between ethnic groups, such as in California, in terms of cultural features, but a more accurate understanding would follow if we included an examination of the structural characteristics of the relationship, especially as they express the power relation between the two groups.

"The higher the degree of enclosure of the ethnic group coupled with a high degree of control over its scarce rewards by a dominant group, the greater the conflict."[52] I don't know how to estimate the degree of control Anglos hold over Mexican Americans, but the Chicano's perception of the power relationship between the two groups may be used as an indicator.

And to summarize briefly the intervening variables. I have already commented on the disagreement on collective goals. In addition the two groups come from two different multinational sectors, Western European and Iberian of which latter some characteristics may be mentioned: the late retention of feudal relations, the delayed appearance of middle classes, and <u>personalismo</u> or loyalty to a commanding leader rather than to specific policies.[53]

To summarize, the relationship between the ethnic groups in California is one tending toward conflict, and such conflict is likely to be an element of many educational programs in an L_2 in the state, whether it be expressed by the teachers, students, administrators or parents. Social class is likely to be a factor since the subordinate group is closely correlated with lower socio-economic status and lack of access to rewards.

In interpreting the significance of the Culver City study, one should keep in mind that it is a program for the dominant group, that its native Spanish speaking students are not members of the subordinate group but are Latin American middle class students, and that it was initiated not by the parents as in the Canadian case but from above as it were. That it is a unique program is significant; we have seen the proliferation of immersion programs in Canada, but in California there are no socio-structural incentives for parents to want their children to become bilingual. Were Spanish to become an official language by law in California, the situation no doubt would change. The Culver City program demonstrates what <u>can</u> be done with idealism and dedication in a bilingual education program. I also think the difference between the identical St. Lambert and Culver City programs, the presence of conflict and the lack of request for similar programs by interested parent groups, demonstrates that bilingual education programs are the result of societal factors. There is no question that children can become bilingual through educational programs, but will they?

This is one of the major problems in Latin America in teaching Spanish to the indigenous ethnic groups, where the debate on how to produce bilingual school children has primarily centered around whether children should learn to read in the vernacular or in Spanish, the official language. The Chiapas study exemplifies this situation.

Time prohibits me from looking in any detail at the relationship of

ethnic groups in Mexico, but the matter does deserve careful consideration in order to understand the issues of bilingual education in Latin America. In brief, the ethnic groups came into contact through colonization:

> The colonial section in Mexico almost completely destroyed the cultural and social autonomy of the Indians, not only by liquidating the leaders but by transporting Indians to encomiendas and towns, where they were incorporated as laborers in a new economy, by miscegenation, and by converting them to a different religion which integrated them more fully into a unitary whole with their conquerors.[54]

For various reasons, racism took a very mild form in Mexico, and race came to be defined largely by language, dress, and world view rather than by genetic characteristics. The degree of enclosure that American Blacks were subjugated to rarely if ever occurred in Mexico, and the assimilation of Indians into the Blanco group (i. e. arribismo) was and is a continuing process and possibility. This cholofication process is not easy and is often stretched out over several generations, invariably accompanied by language shift.[55] It is the third independent variable which is the important one, the control of access to scarce rewards which is in all of Latin America (except Cuba) almost complete. As Heath's study of language policy in Mexico since the colonial days makes quite clear, whenever jobs which required a knowledge of Spanish were available to the Indians, they would learn Spanish.[56] Without access to rewards, Spanish was and is not salient.

As far as agreement on the collective goals for the indigenous ethnic groups, there is generally complete agreement on assimilation or castellanizacion, and the only conflict that is likely to occur from the school program comes not from teaching reading in Spanish but in the vernacular which the parents object to as they say the children already know their mother tongue. The purpose of school from the indigenous parents' view point is to teach rudiments of Spanish and arithmetic.

Why, then, should the children in the Chiapas study have learned to read better in their mother tongue? The first reason, I think, is a linguistic one. No one has really claimed that it is not easier and faster to teach children to read in their mother tongue; the immersion studies data are quite clear on that point, and it takes the immersion children three years of schooling to catch up with the mother tongue readers. The point made there is that children can learn to read in an L_2 and that they eventually will catch up.

The second reason, I think, concerns the quality of the school program. The lack of control by the ethnic groups over access to goods and services inevitably results in less of a quality educational program than those reserved for the children of the dominant group. It makes little sense to compare the results of two prestige programs in two of the richest nations of the world with a hinter-land program whose teachers had a sixth grade education. Unless L_2 programs are of excellent quality and give recognition to the fact that they are teaching in a second language, children will learn better in their mother tongue. The experiment with Hiligaynon speaking children who were taught in experimental classes with Hiligaynon, Tagalog, and English as the medium of instruction supports this view.[57] The literacy rate of the children were higher in Tagalog and in English than in their mother tongue, and Aguilar interprets this as due to "modern teaching and well written materials."[58] The success of the New Primary Approach in Kenya, which involved changing from the vernaculars to English, was also due primarily to the quality of the program. In commenting on the reasons for its success, Prator mentions among others:

> It provided much more adequate texts and teaching materials than had ever before been available and it was carried out under almost ideal conditions of close supervision and continuous in-service training of teachers.[59]

The Mid-Way Report on the Sixth-year Primary Project, University of Ife, Western Nigeria, comments on the perennial difficulties of teaching English, an official language, in Nigeria, but the remark is equally valid for the teaching of a second, official language in many parts of the world:

> It is well known that the two major problems in teaching English are teachers and books, which qualitatively and quantitatively, are usually in inadequate supply. The problem of teachers is by far the greater and more serious. Whereas inadequate books in the hands of adequate teachers could still produce effective and efficient learning on the part of pupils, even the most adequate books in the hands of inadequate teachers are practically useless.[60]

It is not difficult to believe that mother tongue teaching would be more efficient under such circumstances, and this is what the Six-year Primary Project has undertaken to find out. We will have to wait for final findings, but in Evaluation Report No. 1 Yoloye comments on an unexpected and "unplanned for outcome (which may be) more significant than the main purpose of the Project,"[61] namely the process of curriculum renewal, or in other terms the improvement of the general quality of the program.

It would be tempting at this point to write off all differences in children's school achievement to the quality of the educational program. But we cannot do so. I have reported before on Ramirez' observation on the rate of achievement of mother tongue literacy by the children in his La Mar Center bilingual program.[62] These students, children of migrant Chicano farm workers in Texas, learned to read at a rate 75% slower than the middle-upper class students in a Mexico City kindergarten for whom the material in the reading program was originally designed. The degree of excellence of a program is not sufficient to account for the scholastic achievement of children from subordinate groups who are denied access to national rewards.[63]

Children learn much more than language skills in school. The Mid-Way Report recognizes this:

> Indeed, he is completely alienated from his agricultural background and can only see himself generally as a failure, a person doomed to be the cutter of the grass on the lawn, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for those few friends o fhis who will have the fortune of continuing their formal education.[64]

Rolland G. Paulston in a study of social and educational stratification has commented on a number of latent educational functions in Peru:

> Thus, schooling both facilitates limited upward mobility, reinforces existing class divisions, and provides a means by which the masses of cholo children learn an idealized version of the rewards of national Hispanic culture. Even the vast majority of cholo children who drop out learn the rudiments of literacy and arithmetic, the inferiority of their cholo status and Indian origin and the superiority of the superordinate groups who enjoy rewards "appropriate" to their high status. Public school children are in short taught "their place."[65]

In interpreting the results of the Chiapas study, one must keep in mind the teacher variable, as indeed Modiano does. The children in the Spanish medium schools learned more from the two Indian teachers than from the mestizos, although less than the children who studied in the vernacular. The influence of teachers, who come from the same culture and ethnic group as the children, on children's school achievement and perception of self certainly merits careful investigation, and Engle is very right when she points out how infrequently the variable of the teacher is studied.[66]

To sum up the Chiapas study, there is little doubt that in school programs of dubious quality where one function of education is "to convince the stigmatized that the stigma is deserved,"[67] education in the vernacular seems to be more efficient than in the L_2. This is probably due to psychological as well as linguistic factors, and the degree of influence native teachers have on language achievement is not clear. One would wish for a study which compared a Spanish program and a vernacular program along Modiano's design, to a program with a component of systematic presentation of oral Spanish and reading in Spanish but in which the teacher and the students freely used the

vernacular. My guess is that after three years, the students in the latter group would do as well in reading as the vernacular group. And if Swain is right, that:

> The introduction of reading in the second language in early French immersion programs prior to the introduction of readingin the native language appears to foster rapid transfer of reading skills. The teaching of English reading followed by the introduction of French reading appears to have negative effects on reading in both French and English.[68]

then the students ought to have no difficulty of reading in the vernacular when it is eventually introduced. But this is an alternative program which merits study, not speculation. A predictable difficulty lies with the teachers; in a culture which defines race by language, it is difficult to keep bilingual teachers identifying with the indigenous ethnic group rather than with the mestizo, as indeed Heath's study documents.[69] And such an alternative program would have to be considered very carefully in light of the Swedish data I will introduce later.

At this point, it strikes me as useful to follow Schermerhorn's comparative ethnic relations approach, and to look at ethric groups in contact and their schooling in situations similar to those we have discussed earlier. I have chosen the case of ethnic minorities in Sweden, for several reasons: 1) the situations of the Lapps and the Finnish speaking Swedes parallel the situation of the Mexican Indians and the Mexican Americans, 2) there exist a multitude of studies with hard data, which since they are written in Swedish are not very accessible and I thought it might be helpful to make them so, and 3) Sweden is a quasi-socialist country where problems of health care, diet, and unemployment are not intervening variables. Such conditions are occasionally cited as contributory factors in the lack of school achievement by children of subordinate groups.

Although I cannot in any detail go into the case of the reindeer-herding

Lapps, one point should be made in passing. Schermerhorn's theoretical framework works very well for a society in equilibrium, but it is typical of many ethnic groups that they go through a revolutionary phase, a militant strategy in Wirth's typology. In order to best understand the change of priorities in education and the various forms bilingual education takes, I find Anthony Wallace's schema of revitalization movements the most elucidating.[70]

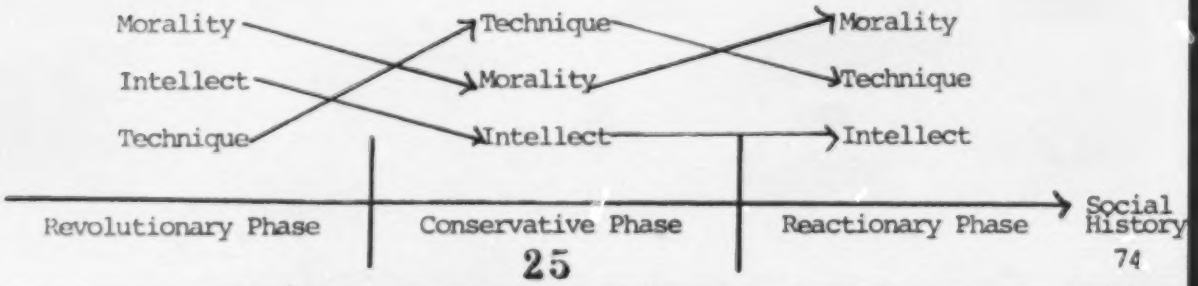
The situation of the Lapps is similar to those of the Mexican Indians in all but one aspect. They share the sequence of colonization, the same enclosure by geographical distance if not by social institutions, virtually the same degree of control first by the church and later by the government. But the reindeer-herding Lapps share with the Navajo's their strong disagreement with the government on their collective goal of assimilation into Swedish, respectively United States culture and society.[71] And this disagreement becomes reflected in their educational programs.

Wallace has suggested the term revitalization movement for "deliberate, organized conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."[72] A group of society involved in a revitalization movement undergoes a revolutionary phase. Says Wallace:

> But for our purposes three contrasting value orientations (for determining what is to be learnt) are most significant: the revolutionary, or utopian, orientation; the conservative ... orientation; and the reactionary orientation. What a man is expected to do in his life will, in part, depend on whether he lives in a revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary society.[73]

He outlines the priorities of learning in the following model:

Learning Priorities in Revolutionary, Conservative, and Reactionary Societies.



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Groups undergoing a revolutionary phase will always stress moral learning, and conflicts are certain to arise when a revitalization movement takes place within a conservative society where technique has the highest learning priority, i.e. "in conservative societies, schools prepare people not for sacrifice but for jobs."[75] Language skills in the official language must be seen as an aspect of technique, an aspect of preparation for jobs. The mother tongue, on the other hand, is an aspect of moral learning, reaffirming the solidarity and cultural uniqueness of the ethnic group, underscoring the need to teach the moral values of good and evil, right and wrong, the values of the old gods, in the language in which those values were originally transmitted. Reaffirmation of cultural values are frequently a part of the moral teaching, especially among ethnic groups who prior to the revitalization movement have been taught by the dominant group to have nothing but contempt for their own culture. The conflict over learning priorities explains the extreme importance of control over local educational institutions. I have frequently heard commented among my colleagues that the best bilingual schools are those that are under community control -- be it Navajo or Chicano. I am not certain what "best" means in this connection. In my discussion of the Erickson report in the earlier paper,[76] I pointed out that "rhetoric about cultural pluralism accounts for little if the objectives are not implemented;"[77] the community run Navajo school, as measured by the achievement test batteries from the California Test Bureau, was markedly inferior to the government run school academically. I was at the time only interested in investigating the learning of English language skills, but even so that statement -- and the evaluation itself -- shows our typical tendency to assess and evaluate the schooling of groups undergoing a revitalization movement with moral learning as the priority in terms of the standards of the conservative society -- the standards of technique.

One aspect of "best" is very clear. Without community control, the ethnic group will not be able to implement its learning priorities. This has been the case of the Lapps who have had to go outside the formal educational system to form their own institution, the Jokkmokk Folk High School.[78] But control of the early schooling of children remains a crucial need for the success of a revitalization movement.[79]

I realize the total inadequacy of the preceding discussion; the topic of revitalization movements must be pursued at length if we are to understand 1) those exceptional (but characterized by a uniform process) cases where the acquisition of jobs no longer holds first priority within the social group and 2) the consequences for bilingual education and its results.

The last situation of ethnic groups in contact I want to examine is that of the Finnish speaking Swedes in Tornedalen in Northern Sweden. Their situation is in many aspects similar to the Chicanos. They came into contact with the Swedes by annexation, and, typically in such situations, their access to economic rewards was limited compared to the Swedes -- the majority of them are members of Social Group 3, the Swedish euphemism for lower class.[80] But there are two important differences. The Finns totally agreed with the Swedes on the collective goals for the former: rapid and total assimilation. This is an unusual situation, symbolized by Cell A in the chart on page 13, to accompany annexation, as Schermerhorn points out. I would speculate that the situation was brought about by the lack of enclosure of social institutions and the access to and availability of jobs, most of which necessitated some knowledge of Swedish. The situation exemplifies Brudner's thesis, jobs select language learning strategies.[81]

On the basis of these facts, we could predict integration and concomittant language learning. It is exactly what we find: integration (with indicators like name changes to Swedish, intermarriage, migration to southern Sweden, etc.)

and massive language shift by a willing Finnish speaking population. The integration was apparently not hindered by the ruthless assimilation policy carried out by the Swedes. The existance of a language problem in the schools was denied by the administration,[82] the use of Finnish was forbidden by law in the classroom, even to monolingual Finnish speaking children. The children were punished by the withdrawal of food for speaking Finnish in the classroom and even on the sports grounds, where one could see the strange sight of a soccer team communicating by sign language.[83] Substitute Indian or Chicano for Tornedaling, and you have read it all before.

With peaceful and massive integration, one would expect that the school achievement of these children had been a successful and contributing factor. Instead we find massive school failure and early drop outs, a dismal situation which has led to a heated debate about dubbel halvspråkighet.

The concept of double semilingualism was apparently introduced earlier[84] but was brought to general recognition by Nils E. Hansegård in his work (and I translate the title) Bilingualism or semilingualism? in 1968.[85] By semilingualism is meant, and I translate from Loman's summary:

> Semilingualism has been used as a term for the type of "faulty linguistic competence" which has especially been observed in individuals who have since childhood had contact with two languages without sufficient or adequate training and stimulation in either of the two languages.
>
> The intellectual as well as the emotional consequences of semilingualism have been pointed out. Semilingualism makes the individual's communication with others more difficult and even leads to a repression of the emotional life; speech becomes inhibited and without spontaneity.[86]

In other words, by knowing two languages poorly, the children know no language well and this condition has negative emotional, psychological, cognitive, linguistic and scholastic consequences. I must admit that the first time I was exposed to the notion of semilingualism, I dismissed it out of hand as utter nonsense. Anyone trained in the tradition of structural linguistics knows

very well that any language is perfectly adequate for the needs of its speakers. Or so I thought. I subsequently came across an article by Bloomfield himself which contains in passing this touching description of White-Thunder:

> White-Thunder, a man round forty, speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vacabulary is small, his inflections are often barbarous he constructs sentences of a few threadbare models. He may be said to speak no language tolerably. His case is not uncommon among younger men, even when they speak but little English. Perhaps it is due, in some indirect way, to the impact of the conquering language.[87]

And that set me reconsidering the matter of semilingualism. I still do not know what to think, except that we need to consider the problem with open minds.

The major point that Hansegard and Tenerz, the two major proponents for recognition of the widespread existence of double semilingualism, make is that children must become literate in the mother tongue in order to counteract the negative effects of double semilingualism. Although both take the approach of cultural pluralism, one of the major goals of the school curriculum which they outline, is increased language skills in Swedish. One factor in evaluating their claims cannot be ignored; both men have had extensive classroom experience with the children they describe and the present school system they criticize. It is difficult to dismiss as inaccurate and irrelevant years of first hand contact and observation of their own students.

Let us now look at some data which addresses itself to the possibility of existence of semilingualism.

A study by Henrysson and Ljung (1967), which controlled for social class and intelligence, found that in the sixth grade, the bilingual students did considerably worse than the monolingual Swedish speaking children in Swedish and English, the subjects tested.[88]

Jakkala concludes in a study,[89] which forms part of her other investigations,[90] and I paraphrase: The bilingual subjects did worse in both a Swedish and a Finnish synonym test than did those who had either language as dominant.

Bilinguals do not seem to compete with Swedish speakers in areas which demand knowledge of Swedish. Outside their own community, they also seem to have worse social possibilities than those who have Finnish as a dominant language. She finds a strong correlation between years of school and knowledge of Swedish, a fairly common finding in bilingual education research, although as she cautions, it may not be a causal relationship.

> The analysis leads us to the, according to our tests, most deprived, semilingual group among those interviewed. This group knows according to its own opinion Finnish better than Swedish, and Swedish poorly. They however, did even worse in the Finnish test than the group, which had studied Swedish as its major language...
>
> I would not like to argue that this group is aware of language problems in daily life. On the basis of short word tests it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about the language competence of those interviewed. In addition, the languages within this group may be functionally differentiated. Probably this group is to be found mostly in occupations which are less demanding linguistically.[91]

Gunnel Wrede's study[92] intends to complement Jakkala's sociolinguistic survey work of Tornedalen. The purpose of her study is to present empirical data which test Hansegard's hypothesis concerning competence in Swedish. After comparing the knowledge of Swedish by monolinguals and bilinguals, she did not confirm the hypothesis, but she concludes:

> Hansegard's hypothesis about the semilingualism of the Finnish speaking Torenedalings seems convincing in historical and sociological perspective. The Finnish linguistic competence has decreased as the language is only used orally. Competence in Swedish is for the majority of the Finns only mediocre. Apparently the Finnish children had had difficulties in school because of insufficient linguistic skills. These effects have directly or indirectly continued through the years so that the school work has seemed heavy to the children. They have liked to discontinue their schooling early. With less education and with less knowledge of Swedish, they are placed low in social rank in occupations which give comparatively little practice in language skills.[93]

Perrti Toukomaa's study on immigrant Finnish children supports the notion of

semilingualism.[94] Twelve year olds have the same vocabulary as eight year olds in Finland. "Saddest is that their ability in Swedish usually is just as bad."[95] Those who were good in Swedish are usually those who have not forgotten their Finnish but developed the mother tongue. Of interest is his finding that the older the pupil when he immigrated the better he can learn Swedish within a few years. "According to results, one may expect that for a pupil who has come to Sweden as a four year old, it normally takes four to five years to achieve a passing understanding of the deeper meaning of words, while a pupil who has immigrated at the age of ten can manage the task in a couple of years."[96] Although I am not sure of what he means with the deeper meaning of words, his results are certainly supported by those of Ervin-Tripp's.[97]

Predictively, the notion of semilingualism became polemic. Professor Loman and his colleagues report on a number of studies in the latest Språk och Samhälle,[98] the major tenet of which is to do away with "the myth of semilingualism." The difficulty with the concept of semilingualism is that it is very vague in its linguistic definition and measurement, as Loman points out. He emphasizes the necessity for empirical studies, "especially in the form of analyses of authentic language material."[99] He continues with an in depth study of the informant from Tornedalen with the lowest social class index, and, after a careful analysis of her ability to form correct sentences of a certain length, her fluency, her ability to coordinate syntactic and prosodic units, and her lexicon, he concludes: "If she is representative in her language ability - well, then the talk about semilingualism is based on fiction."[100]

Mirja Pinomaa examines "Finnish Interference in Tornedals Swedish"[101] and Irina Koskinen "Swedish Interference in Tornedals Finnish"[102] and both conclude by rejecting any evidence of semilingualism. Pinomaa also investigates the meningsbyggnad 'the building of meaning' of 38 bilingual informants from Tornedalen, using the same criteria as Loman above, and concludes that her

results do not support the notion of semilingualism.[103] Kerstin Nordin, following the same Manual for Analysis,[104] compares the Swedish of 88 bilingual eigth graders with Finnish as the home language in Tornedalen with that of 26 bilingual native speakers of Swedish in Finland (Swedish and Finnish are both official languages in Finland).[105] She concludes that one can find no linguistic handicap among the Swedish students.

We find again the familiar contradictory results of linguistic research on bilingual speakers, and I can only speculate on its meaning. All of the "anti-semilingualism" studies have dealt with post-puberty informants (Swedish children begin school at seven years of age), and it seems likely that given sufficient exposure to Swedish, Finnish mother tongue speakers eventually learn to function well in that language. Everyone agrees that their Finnish is undeveloped in Haugen's[106] sense of the term: they can neither read nor write Finnish, and they have difficulty understanding standard Finnish although there is no evidence that the language is not sufficient to meet the functional needs of the community in the diglossic situation which now exists. But no data exist on the language competence of young school children. The region is characterized by very rapid language shift with numerous reports on families shifting to Swedish after the first child or two. Anecdotal reports comment on the garbled Swedish -- to the degree of incomprehensibility -- of the parents, and it is reasonable to assume from the published data that a situation of interlanguage arose. I think it is a legitimate question to ask what kind of language competence children bring to school when they have never been exposed to a fully developed language. It is easy to fault the conceptualization of the last sentence, and I frankly admit that I can not phrase it elegantly, but but for the sake of the children we should at least consider the possible effect of semilingualism on early schooling.

CONCLUSIONS

I have attempted in this paper to examine the contradictory results of research studies on bilingual education from the viewpoint that we can only make sense of such research if we consider bilingual education as the result of societal factors rather than the cause of certain behaviors in children. To that end, I have used Schermerhorn's theoretical framework for research on ethnic groups in contact and all too briefly touched upon Wallace's scheme of revitalization movements. The conceptual framework of this paper shall necessarily need to become modified in light of further casestudies, and I have not meant to imply that the notions I have introduced here will account for all facts of bilingual education - rather I have meant to indicate the direction we should take in interpreting research on bilingual education.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rudolph C. Troike, Director, Center for Applied Linguistics, personal communication, August 14, 1974.

2. Perrti Pelto, Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry. (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), xii.

3. See the paper in this volume by Gustavo Gonzalez, "Needed Research in Children's Language Development." See also Arnulfo G. Ramirez, The Spoken English of Spanish Speaking Pupils in a Bilingual and Monolingual School Setting: An Analysis of Syntactic Development. (Stanford University: Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1974).

4. See e.g. A. Barrera-Vasquez, "The Tarascan Project in Mexico." in The Use of Vernacular Language in Education. (Paris: UNESCO, 1953); Andrew Cohen, A Sociolinguistic Approach to Bilingual Education. (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, forthcoming); Donald Erickson et al., Community School at Rough Rock - An Evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity. U.S. Department of Commerce (Springfield, Va.: Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, 1969); P. Ladefoged et al., Language in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1971); John McNamara, Bilingualism and Primary Education. (Edinburgh: University Press, 1966); E. G. Malherbe, The Bilingual School: A Study of Bilingualism in South Africa. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946); M. Ramos, J. Aguilar and B. Sibayan, The Determination and Implementation of Language Policy. (Quezon City: Phoenix Press, 1967); M. Richardson, "An Evaluation of Certain Aspects of Academic Achievement of Elementary Pupils in a Bilingual Program," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Miami, 1968; A. Valencia, "Bilingual/Bi-cultural Education: An Effective Learning Scheme for First Grade Spanish Speaking, English Speaking, and American Indian Children in New Mexico: A Report of Statistical Findings and Recommendations for the Grants Bilingual Project." (Albuquerque, N.M.: Southwest Cooperative Educational Laboratory, 1970), and "The Relative Effects of Early Spanish Language Instruction on Spanish and English Linguistic Development: An Evaluation Report of the Pecos Language Arts Program for the Western States Small School Project." (Albuquerque, N.M.: Southwest Cooperative Educational Laboratory, 1970); R. Tucker, "An Alternate Days Approach to Bilingual Education," in Alatis, Bilingualism and Language Contact: Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological, and Sociological Aspects, Report on the Twenty-first Annual Round-Table Meeting: ed. J. Alatis (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University, 1970); P. A. Zirkel, "An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Selected Experimental Bilingual Education Programs in Connecticut," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Hartford, 1972; Tore Österberg, Bilingualism and the First School Language. (Umea: Västerbottens Tryckeri, 1961).

A glance at the topics of doctoral dissertations on bilingual education might also be useful. The list results from a Datrix II search by Xerox University Microfilms and is arranged in chronological order:

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"Predicted Educational Achievement Management Model for Bilingual Bicultural Education Using a Goal Synthesis Process," University of Southern California, 1972; M. D. McColgan, "Individual Role in Educational Change and a Framework for its Analysis, with Particular Reference to the Establishment of a Bilingual Subschool in an Urban School System," Columbia University, 1972; J. W. McClinton, "Effectiveness of a Bilingual Vocational-Technical Developmental Program," University of Missouri, Columbia, 1972; J. D. Montoya, "The Effect of a Bilingual Program Used in Nine First Grade Classrooms with Spanish Surnamed Students in the East and West Las Vegas Schools," University of New Mexico, 1972; L. B. Nagy, "Effectiveness of Speech and Language Therapy as an Integral Part of the Educational Program for Bilingual Children," United States International University, 1972; W. G. Oxman, "The Effects of Ethnic Identity of Experimenter, Language of Experimntal Task, and Bilingual vs. Non-Bilingual School Attendance on the Verbal Task Performance of Bilingual Children of Puerto Rican Background," Fordham University, 1972; R. V. Skoczylas, "An Evaluation of Some Cognitive and Affective Aspects of a Spanish-English Bilingual Education Program," University of New Mexico, 1972; R. del C. E. Weffer, "Effects of First Language Instruction in Academic and Psychological Development of Bilingual Children," Illinois Institute of Technology, 1972; P. A. Zirkel, "An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Selected Experimental Bilingual Education Programs in Connecticut," University of Connecticut, 1972; X. A. Del Buono, "The Relationship of Bilingual/Bicultural Instruction to the Achievement and Self-Concept of Seventh Grade Mexican-American Students," Michigan State University, 1971; C. R. Durfey, "An Evaluation of Bilingual Education with a Cross Cultural Emphasis Designed for Navajo and Non-Navajo Students in San Juan County, Utah, 1969-1971," Brigham Young University, 1971; S. E. Krear, "A Proposed Framework Derived from an Analysis of 1969-1970 Title VII Bilingual Education Proposals in California," University of California, Berkeley, 1971; G. E. G. Mallory, "Sociolinguistic Considerations for Bilingual Education in an Albuquerque Community Undergoing Language Shift," University of New Mexico, 1971; J. C. Morgan, "The Effects of Bilingual Instruction on the English Language Arts Achievement of First Grade Children," Northwestern State University of Louisiana, 1971; B. W. Nixon, "Navajo Parental Attitudes and the Effect of Bilingual Education on Student Self-Concept in San Juan School District 1969-1970," Brigham Young University, 1971; J. Olesini, "The Effect of Bilingual Instruction on the Achievement of Elementary Pupils," East Texas State University, 1971; M. A. Walsh, "The Development of a Rationale for a Program to Prepare Teachers for Spanish-Speaking Children in the Bilingual-Bicultural Elementary School," University of Texas at Austin, 1971; E. M. B. Bates, "The Effects of One Experimental Bilingual Program on Verbal Ability and Vocabulary of First Grade Pupils," Texas Tech University, 1970; J. G. Fraser, "A Survey of Bilingual Programs and Outcomes in Selected American-Sponsored Overseas Schools in Latin America," University of Alabama, 1970; P. G. P. Layne, "Modern Linguistic Theory and Language Instruction in a Bilingual Milieu: Developing a Strategy for Primary English Instruction on Guam," University of Pittsburgh, 1970; J. P-L. Ng, "The Effects of Bilingual Science Instruction on the Vocabulary, Comprehension Achievement, and Conceptualization of Elementary School Chinese Children

Whose Second Language is English," University of California, Los Angeles, 1970; L. F. K. Barclay, "The Comparative Efficacies of Spanish, English and Bilingual Cognitive Verbal Instruction with Mexican-American Headstart Children," Stanford University, 1969; S. H. Flores, "The Nature and Effectiveness of Bilingual Education Programs for the Spanish-Speaking Child in the United States," Ohio State University, 1969; D. G. O'Connor, "The Need for Bilingual Education in the Schools of Vermont," University of Massachusetts, 1969; L. K. Vasquex, "An Experimental Pilot Bilingual Model School for Transient Mexican-American Students," University of Oregon, 1969; M. W. Richardson, "An Evaluation of Certain Aspects of the Academic Achievement of Elementary Pupils in a Bilingual Program," University of Miami, 1968; B. A. G. Trevino, "An Analysis of the Effectiveness of a Bilingual Program in the Teaching of Mathematics in the Primary Grades," University of Texas at Austin, 1968; P. A. Bolger, "The Effect of Teacher Spanish Language Fluency upon Student Achievement in a Bilingual Science Program," St. John's University, 1967; P. G. Adkins, "An Investigation of the Essentiality of Idioms and Figures of Speech in the Education of Bilingual Students in the Ninth Grade in Texas and New Mexico," University of Colorado, 1966; N. D. Modiano, "Reading Comprehension in the National Language: A Comparative Study of Bilingual and All-Spanish Approaches to Reading Instruction in Selected Indian Schools in the Highlands of Chiapas, Mexico," New York University, 1966; K. S. Talley, "The Effects of a Program of Special Language Instruction on the Reading and Intellectual Levels of Bilingual Children," University of New Mexico, 1965; H. Schwartzberg, "The Effect of a Program of Choral Speaking on the Silent Reading Achievement of Sixth-Grade Bilingual Puerto Rican Children in the New York City Elementary Schools," New York University, 1963; D. C. Ching, "Evaluation of a Program for the Improvement of English Language Ability and Reading Achievement in Hawaiian Bilingual Children," Harvard University, 1960; G. W. Erickson, "Grade Placement of the Non-Vernacular Language, and Readiness for Advanced Study in Schools of Central Africa," University of Minnesota, 1960; S. F. Cheavens, "Vernacular Languages and Education," University of Texas at Austin, 1957; F. G. Baca, "Bilingual Education in Certain Southwest School Districts," University of Utah, 1956; H. C. Axelrod, "Bilingual Background and its Relation to Certain Aspects of Character and Personality of Elementary School Children," Yeshiva University, 1952; T. G. Leong, "Bilingual Education and its Inherent Problems with Special Reference to Burma," University of California, Berkeley, 1947; A. J. Aucamp. "Bilingual Education and Nationalism with Special Reference to South Africa," Columbia University, 1926.

And finally, I would like to quote a comment by Merrill Swain (personal communication) with which I am in total agreement: "It depends on what you want your research to show. The reason bilingual education has been the independent variable is because educators, parents, etc. were worried about the possible harmful effects of bilingual education on their kids. Thus evaluations of the programs were undertaken to show that bilingual education was not harmful. In other words, research for immediate educational purposes necessarily have used bilingual education as the independent variable. Now, if you want to develop a theory of bilingual education (which none of the studies you refer to [in the text itself] have

addressed themselves to) then you have to take one step backwards (no negative connotation meant) and view bilingual education as the/a dependent variable -- which is of course what you have done. But in all fairness to the studies you refer to, you might acknowledge that they never aimed at developing a theory of bilingual education, they only aimed at evaluating a particular education program."

5. Albert Verdoodt, "The Differential Impact of Immigrant French Speakers on Indigenous German Speakers: A Case Study in the Light of Two Theories," in Advances in the Sociology of Language, Part II, ed. J. A. Fishman. (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), pp. 377-385.

6. For the literature on the Canadian immersion programs, see S. T. Carey, Bilingualism, Biculturalism and Education. (University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1974); H. P. Edwards, and M. C. Casserly, "Research and Evaluation of Second Language Programs," Annual Reports, 1971, 1972, 1973. (Ottawa: The Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board); Fred Genesee et al., "Evaluation of the 1973-1974 Grade IV French-Immersion Class," September 1974, "Evaluation of the 1973-1974 Grade VII French-Immersion Class," June 1974 and September 1974, "Evaluation of the 1973-1974 Grade VII French Immersion Class," February, 1974, Reports submitted to the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal; W. E. Lambert and G. R. Tucker, Bilingual Education of Children. (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972); John MacNamara, "Perspectives on Bilingual Education in Canada," Canadian Psychologist, 13:4, October 1972, 341-349; O. Melikoff, "Parents as Change Agents in Education: The St. Lambert Experiment," Appendix A in Lambert and Tucker; H. H. Stern, The Position of the French Language in Quebec. (Gendron Report), (Quebec: The Quebec Official Publisher, Parliament Buildings); Merrill Swain, ed. Bilingual Schooling: Some Experiences in Canada and the United States. (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1972); M. Swain, "French Immersion Programs across Canada: Research Findings," Canadian Modern Language Review, in press; M. Swain & H. C. Barik, "Bilingual Education in Canada: French and English," in Current Trends in Bilingual Education. B. Spolsky and R. Cooper, eds., forthcoming; See Also M. Swain, "Some Issues in Bilingual Education in Canada," paper presented at Indiana University, March, 1974, mimeo. for further references to her work; G. R. Tucker et al., "French Immersion Programs: A Pilot Investigation," Language Sciences, 25, April 1973, 19-26.

   William F. Mackey, Bilingual Education in a Binational School. (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972); See also J. Donald Bowen, "Linguistic Perspectives in Bilingual Educaton," in Current Trends in Bilingual Education, B. Spolsky and R. Cooper, eds., forthcoming, and John MacNamara, "The Generalizability of Results of Studies of Bilingual Education," in Bilingualism, Biculturalism, and Education, S. T. Carey, ed., (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1974), pp. 95-98.

7. See e.g. J. Fishman and J. Lovas, "Bilingual Education in Sociolinguistic Perspective" and W. Mackey, "A Typology of Bilingual Education," both in H. Allen and R. Campbell, eds., Teaching English as a Second Language. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972); Bernard Spolsky et al., A Model for the Description, Analysis and Perhaps Evaluation of Bilingual Education, Navajo Reading Study Progress Report, No. 23. University of New Mexico, February 1974.

8. Bruce Gaarder, "Political Perspective on Bilingual Education," MS, forthcoming, p. 4.

9. C. B. Paulston, Implications of Language Learning Theory for Language Planning. (Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975).

   In that paper I pointed out, inter alia, that the success of the Canadian immersion programs partially was a function of social class, Swain writes:

"Generally speaking, Canadian programs have been for middle to upper middle class kids, many of whom have not had contact with French Canadians. Many of the programs come much closer to elitist than folk, especially when not in Ottawa or Montreal regions." (Personal communication.) Although the Canadian programs are unusual in that they involve members of the upper rather than the lower social strata, they are nevertheless, as I hope presently to make clear, the result of folk bilingualism.

10. Of course there are exceptions to this point, Mackey's JFK school is one example. Many elitist programs are also of this type, using the official language plus a LWC.

11. See footnote 6.

12. Patricia Lee Engle, "The Use of the Vernacular Languages in Education: Revisited," -A Literature Review prepared for the Ford Foundation, May 1973, MS.

13. Paulston, Implications of Language Learning Theory for Language Planning.

14. Engle, p. 29.

15. Nancy Modiano, "Reading Comprehension in the National Language: A Comparative Study of Bilingual and All Spanish Approaches to Reading Instruction in Selected Indian Schools in the Highlands of Chiapas, Mexico." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1966; Indian Education in the Chiapas Highlands. (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973); and "Teaching Personnel in the Indian Schools of Chiapas," Council on Anthropology and Education Newsletter, 2:2, 9-11.

16. Lambert and Tucker; Margaret Bruck et al., "Bilingual Schooling Through the Elementary Grades: The St. Lambert Project at Grade Seven," (Montreal: McGill University, 1974), MS.

17. The Culver City program was initiated by Professor Russell Campbell and subsequently its evaluation was continued by the supervision of Professor Andrew Cohen, both of the Department of English as a Second Language, University of California at Los Angeles. See Russell Campbell, "English Curricula for Non-English Speakers" in Alatis, 1970, and "Bilingual Education in Culver City," Workpapers: Teaching English as a Second Language, 6: 87-92, University of California at Los Angeles, 1972; "Bilingual Education for Mexican-American Children in California," in Bilingualism in the Southwest, P. T. Turner, ed. (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1972); Andrew Cohen, "The Culver City Spanish Immersion Program: The First Two Years," The Modern Language Journal, 58, 1974, 95-103;"The Culver City Spanish Immersion Program: How Does Summer Recess Affect Spanish Speaking Ability?" Language Learning, 24:1, 55-68. See Also A. D. Cohen and S. M. LeBach, "A language experiement in California: student, parent, and community reactions after three years," Workpapers in Teaching English as a Second Language, 8. University of California at Los Angeles, forthcoming. A. D. Cohen, V. Fier and M. Flores, "The Culver City immersion program-end of year #1 and #2," Workpapers in Teaching English as a Second Language, 7: 65-74. University of California at Los Angeles, 1973; P. Boyd, "The Acquisition of Spanish as a Second Language by Anglo Children in the Third Year of an Immersion Project," Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, forthcoming. R. R. Broadbent, "Some consequences in following an elementary school curriculum in a second language," M.A. thesis. University of California at Los Angeles, 1973; R. L. Cathcart, "Report on a group of Anglo children after one year of immersion in instruction in Spanish," M.A. thesis. University of California at Los Angeles, 1972;

M. A. Flores, "An early stage in the acquisition of Spanish Morphology by a group of English-speaking children," M.A. thesis. University of California at Los Angles, 1973.

18. See Barrera-Vasquez; Österberg; and Donald Burns, "Bilingual Education in the Andes of Peru," in Language Problems of Developing Nations, J. Fishman et al., eds. (New York: Wiley, 1968), pp. 403-413.

19. Swain and Barik, p. 4.

20. Lebach, p. 5.

21. Cohen, "The Culver City Spanish Immersion Program," p. 96.

22. Cohen, "The Culver City Spanish Immersion Program," p. 96.

23. Engle, p. 1.

24. Paulston, p. 35 in MS.

25. Cohen, "The Culver City Spanish Immersion Program," p. 96.

26. American Association for the Advancement of Science and Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnologia, Symposium on "Sociolinguistics and Language Planning," Mexico City, June 27-28, 1973.

27. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. (New York: Random House, 1970).

28. Schermerhorn, p. 68.

29. Schermerhorn, "Towards a General Theory of Minority Groups," cited in Verdoodt, 379ff. See also Schermerhorn, 1970: 53.

30. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 14.

31. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 15.

32. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 15.

33. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 127.

34. Gaarder, 2 ff.

35. Swain, "Some Issues in Bilingual Education in Canada," p. 1. See also Stanley Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada. (New York: Wiley, 1970).

36. Val R. Lorwin, "Linguistic Pluralism and Political Tension in Modern Belgium," in Fishman, pp. 386-412.

37. Swain and Barik, p. 1.

38. Swain, "Some Issues in Bilingual Education in Canada," p. 2.

39. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 85.

40. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 78.

41. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 80.

42. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 81.

43. Schermerhorn, 1970, pp. 81-82.

44. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 83.

45. Lieberson, p. 22, 75.

46. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 84.

47. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 84.

48. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 186.

49. Merrill Swain (personal communication) questions that bilingual education programs for the French population would avoid conflict and be successful. I think the importance here lies in the voluntary aspect of participation. Swain herself speculates that with recent legislation which makes it impossible for French speaking shildren to enter English medium public schools, Francophone upper class members will put their children in English speaking private schools.

    A note also needs to be made about the endemic presence of teacher conflict which seems to accompany most bilingual education programs. Bilingual education programs bring about a change in teacher qualification competency requirements and consequent institutionalized denial of access to jobs, a situation which typically results in conflict by the teachers, usually members of the dominant group, who no longer qualify to teach in the new programs. See e.g. R. N. Campbell, D. M. Taylor, and G. R. Tucker, "Teachers' Views of Immersion Type Bilingual Programs: A Quebec Example," Foreign Language Annals, 7:1, (October 1973), pp. 106-110.

50. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 124.

51. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 135.

52. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 166. Indicators by which to measure degree of control are difficult to find, but for the perception of Anglo control by Chicanos, see Jon Nordheimer, "Chicanos of East Los Angeles Seek a Voice to End Despair," New York Times, November 24, 1974.

53. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 170.

54. Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 149.

55. Richard W. Patch, "La Parada, Lima's Market: Serrano and Criollo, the Confusion of Race with Class," AVFSR, West Coast South America Series, XIV:2, February, 1967. For a discussion of arribismo, see Carlos Delgado, "An Analysis of 'arribismo' in Peru," Human Organization, 28:2 (Summer, 1969), pp. 133-139.

56. S. B. Heath, Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico - Colony to Nation (New York: Teachers College Press, 1972). See also C. B. Paulston, Review of Heath in American Anthropologist 75:6, December 1973 pp. 1921-24.

57. M. Ramos, T. Aguilar and B. Sibayan, The Determination and Implementation of

Language Policy (Quezon City: Phoenix Press, 1967).

58. Aguilar in Ramos, Aguilar and Sibayan, p. 119.

59. Clifford Prator, "Language Policy in the Primary Schools of Kenya," On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, Series III, B. W. Robinett, ed. p. 27.

60. The Institute of Education, University of Ife, Ife, Western Nigeria, "A Midway Report on the Sixth Year Primary Project," p. 12.

61. E. A. Yoloye, "Evaluation Report #1," Six Year Primary Project, Institute of Education, University of Ife, p. 15.

62. Alfonso Ramirez, "Bilingual Reading for Speakers of Spanish: Action Research and Experimentation," p. 4. Mimeo, no date. See also D. G. Ellson, "Evaluation of the Region I" Creative Writing Instruction, Edinburg, Texas, 1973-74, MS, no date.

63. A discussion of what constitutes excellence in bilingual education is outside the scope of this paper. Briefly, I take excellence to include such factors as well-trained and competent teachers, good teaching materials and a structured and supervised curriculum which is congruent with the objectives of a bilingual education program, such as that outlined by N. Modiano, W. Leap and R. Troike, Recommendations for Language Policy in Indian Education (Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1973).

64. Institute of Education, University of Ife, p. 6.

65. Rolland G. Paulston, "Sociocultural constraints on Educational Development in Peru," The Journal of Developing Areas, 5:3, April 1971, p. 413.

66. Engle, p. 63.

67. Dell Hymes, ed. Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), p. 3.

68. Swain, "French Immersion Programs Across Canada: Research Findings," p. 21.

69. Heath, 141 ff.

70. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist, 59: , 1966, 264-265.

71. Rowland G. P. Hill and Karl Nickul, eds. The Lapps Today in Finland, Norway and Sweden II. (Oslo: Universitets förlaget, 1969).

72. Wallace, p. 264.

73. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," in F. C. Gruber, ed. Anthropology and Education. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961) pp. 38-39.

74. Wallace, 1961, p. 49.

75. Rolland G. Paulston, "Cultural Revitalization and Educational Change in Cuba," Comparative Education Review, 16:3, October 1972, p. 478.

76. Donald Erickson et al., Community School at Rough Rock - An Evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity. U.S. Department of Commerce (Springfield, Va.: Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, 1969).

77. C. B. Paulston, Implications, pp. 38-39 in MS.

78. Rolland G. Paulston, "Ethnic Revival and Educational Change in Swedish Lappland," paper presented at the conference of the American Anthropological Association, Mexico City, 1974.

79. The American Indians are perfectly aware of this: "Indians must be given direct control of their educational systems, a resolution passed by the National Indian Educational Association says." New York Times, November 17, 1974, p. 33.

80. Magdalena Jaakkola, Sprakgränsen. (Stockholm: Bok förlaget Aldus, 1973); and "Den språkliga variationen i svenska Torne dalen," in Språk och Samhälle, Bengt Loman, ed. (Lund: Gleerup Bok förlag, 1974).

81. Lilyan Brudner, "The Maintenance of Bilingualism in Southern Austria," Ethnology, 11:1, pp. 39-54.

82. This is similar to the situation Bruce Gaarder reports on from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in his "Political Perspective on Bilingual Education."

83. Hugo Tenerz, Språk undervisnings problemen i de finsktalande delarna av Norrbottenslän.

84. H. Ringbom, "Tvåspråkigheten som forskningsobject," Finsk Tidskrift, Vol. 6, 1962.

85. Nils E. Hansegård, Tvåspråkighet eller halvspråkighet. (Stockholm: Aldus/Bonniers, 1968).

86. Bengt Loman, "Till Frågan om Tvåspråkighet och halvspråkighet i Tornedalen," in Loman.

87. Dell Hymes, ed., Language in Culture and Society. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 395; Bernard Spolsky points out that although any one language (langue) may be perfectly adequate for the needs of its speakers, this does not entail that each speaker (parole) has adequate command of the language. (Private communication)

88. Sten Henrysson and Bengt-Olav Ljung, "Tvåspråkigheten i Tornedalen" Report from Pedagogisk-psykologiska Institutionen. Lärarhögskolan i Stockholm, No. 26, August 1967. MS.

89. Magdalena Jaakkola, "Den Språkliga variationen i svenska Tornedalen," in Loman, p. 35 ff.

90. M. Jaakkola, "Om tvåspråkighetens sociology." Research reports, Institute of Sociology, University of Helsinki, No. 176. 1972 and Språkgransen.

91. Jaakkola, p. 40.

92. Gunnel Wrede, "Färdigheten i svenska hos två- och enspråkiga ungdomar i Tornedalen," Research report, Institutionen for nordiska språk, Lund University, 1972. MS.

93. Wrede, p. 29. These conclusions are, however, not repeated in the later rewritten version of her paper "Skolspråket i Tornedalen - några synpunkter baserade på en undersökning av färdigheten i svenska" in Loman, where she on the basis of the same data now states "on Swedish tests the Finnish Tornedaling managed as well as the Swedish," in Loman, p. 185.

94. Perrti Toukomaa, "Om finska invandrarelevernas utvecklingsförhållanden i den svenska skolan." Beteende-vetenskapliga Institutionen, Uleåborgs Universitet, 1972.

95. Toukomaa, p. 2.

96. Toukomaa, p. 3.

97. Susan Ervin-Tripp, "Is Second Language Learning Like the First," TESOL Quarterly, 8:2, June 1974, 111-127.

98. Bengt Loman, ed. Sprak och Samhälle 2. (Lund: Gleerups Forlag, 1974).

99. Loman, p. 43.

100. Loman, p. 78.

101. Mirja Pinomaa, "Finsk Interferens i Tornedalssvenskan," in Loman, pp. 80-108.

102. Irina Koskinen, "Svensk Interferens i Tornedalsfinskan," in Loman, pp. 109-121.

103. Koskinen, p. 121.

104. Bengt Loman and Nils Jorgenson, Manual for Analys och beskrivning av makrosyntagmer. (Lund: Lundastudier i nordisk sprakvetenskop, Serie C, number 1, 1971).

105. Kerstin Nordin, "Meningsbyggnaden hos attondeklassister i Overtornea," in Loman, pp. 140-168.

106. Einar Haugen, "Dialect Language, Nation," The Ecology of Language. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 244.